

Message Text

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PAGE 01 CANBER 07033 260315Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 260250Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4377

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L CANBERRA 7033

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, SF, PFOR

SUBJECT: JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN APPROACH TO AUSTRALIA
ON EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA

RAF: A. STATE 236184; B. CANBERRA 7007; C. CANBERRA 6946

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY AGREES WITH DEPT VIEW IN REF A, THAT RENEWED ANGLO-AMERICAN APPROACH TO PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM TO URGE CHANGE IN VOTING POSITION ON SOUTH AFRICA, WILL NOT BE SUCCESSFUL. WE BELIEVE EFFORT WOULD REQUIRE SPENDING OUR LIMITED INFLUENCE WITH WHITLAM ON ISSUE WHERE WE ARE BOUND TO FAIL. WE CONSIDER ISSUE FOR DECISION IS WHETHER U.S., U.K., AND FRANCE ARE PREPARED TO VETO RES ON EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA. WE SEE NO PROSPECT OF CHANGING WHITLAM'S STANCE ON THIS MATTER. END SUMMARYM

2. EMBASSY AGREES WITH PARA 3 (REF A) THAT RENEWED EFFORT TO PERSUADE AUSTRALIANS NOT TO SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICAN EXPULSION IS UNLIKELY TO BE SUCCESSFUL. MORE SERIOUSLY, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE AS REQUIRING EXPENDITURE OF OUR RELATIVELY LIMITED INFLUENCE ON WHITLAM FOR MATTER WHERE WE ARE GOING TO LOSE IN ANY CASE. WE BELIEVE THAT FACT OF AN ANGLO-AMERICAN APPROACH OF THE KIND ENVISAGED IN REF A WOULD BE RESENTED BY WHITLAM AND WOULD LEAK OUT QUICKLY TO AUSTRALIAN PRESS, FURTHER STIFFENING GOA ATTITUDE ON THIS AND OTHER UN ISSUES.

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3. EMBASSY HAS KEPT IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH BRITISH HIGH COM-

MISSION ON SOUTH AFRICAN EXPULSION ISSUE AS IT HAS DEVELOPED. BRITISH HERE TELL US THAT, IN THEIR VIEW, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE NOW THAT WHITLAM WOULD REVERSE HIMSELF AND THAT FCO IN LONDON ACCEPTS THIS VIEW. BRITISH TELL US FURTHER THAT PRESENT DISPOSITION OF HIGH COMMISSIONER, SIR MORRICE JAMES, WOULD BE TO OPPOSE INSTRUCTIONS IF SENT TO HIM ON A FURTHER APPROACH TO WHITLAM. THIS CONNECTION BRITISH REVIEWED BIDDING FULLY OCT 23 WITH DR. J.W.C. CUMES (FIRST ASST SECRETARY, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION, DFA). CUMES TOLD BRITISH THAT ALL OF THE ARGUMENTS BRITISH AND U.S. HAVE ADVANCED HAVE BEEN FULLY CONSIDERED BY PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM AND THAT THERE IS QTE NO WAY ON GOD'S EARTH END QTE TO BRING WHITLAM TO RECONSIDER. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT CUMES HAS CORRECTLY STATED SITUATION.

4. MATTER, AS WHITLAM SEES IT, IS A MORAL ISSUE ON WHICH HE IS NOT RPT NOT PREPARED TO GIVE WAY, EVEN WHEN -- AND PERHAPS ESPECIALLY WHEN--HE IS PRESSED TO DO SO BY U.S. AND U.K. WHITLAM TENDS TO VIEW THAT U.S. AND U.K. HAVE BEEN FAR TOO LAX IN PAST IN CONSIDERING WHAT HE BELIEVES TO BE SUBSTANTIAL MORAL CONTENT OF WHOLE MATTER OF SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID.

5. EVEN IF WHITLAM WERE PREPARED TO RECONSIDER HIS STAND, COMPELLING DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WOULD MAKE HIM PAUSE. IT IS NOT RPT NOT LITERALLY TRUE THAT GOA HAS MADE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON VOTING POSITION, AS STATED IN PARA 1 OF REF A. HOWEVER, GOA HAS BACKGROUNDED PRESS ON ITS VOTING INTENTIONS, AND FOREIGN MINISTER WILLESEE HAS TOLD VISITING AFRICAN, J.D. AKUMU OF KENYA, SECRETARY GENERAL OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY, THAT AUSTRALIA WILL VOTE FOR EXPULSION. AKUMU HAS TOLD PRESS OF WILLESEE'S STATEMENT TO HIM. THUS, GOA'S POSITION IS PUBLICLY CLEAR AND MADE IN MANNER WHICH WILL BE BERY DIFFICULT TO RETREAT FROM. FOR GOA TO BACK OFF NOW, UNDER ANGLO-AMERICAN PRESSURE, WOULD OPEN IT UP TO CRITICISM BY OPPOSITION THAT ITS FOREIGN POLICY IS WAVERING AND VACILLATING AND THAT ITS MORAL STANCES ARE MERE HYPOCRISY. SUCH CRITICISM WOULD BE NEAR ENOUGH TO THE TRUTH TO DAMAGE POSITION OF LABOR GOVERNMENT FURTHER, WHEN IT IS UNDER HEAVY ATTACK FOR ITS ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POLICIES.

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6. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT ISSUE FOR DECISION NOW IS AS STATED IN PARA 4 FO REF C: U.S., U.K., AND FRANCE WILL HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO VETO RES ON EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA IF IT IS TO BE DEFEATED AT ALL. IN TERMS OF FINAL PARA OF REF A, WE FAIL TO SEE HOW WE CAN GAIN BY MAKING APPROACH TO AUSTRALIANS WHICH IS LIKELY TO FAIL. SUCH A FAILING EFFORT WILL NOT RPT NOT DEMONSTRATE STRENGTH OF OUR VIEWS BUT RATHER WEAKNESS IN SUGGESTING WE

NOT RPT NOT PREPARED TO FACE UP TO VETO OF RESOLUTION.
GREEN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, WITHDRAWAL OF MEMBERSHIP, EXPULSION, MEETING VOTING RECORDS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974CANBER07033
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740306-0505
From: CANBERRA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741014/aaaaalak.tel
Line Count: 117
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 JUN 2002 by martinml>; APPROVED <12 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN APPROACH TO AUSTRALIA ON EXPULSION OF SOUTH AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, SF, US, AS, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005